

LEAVES
FROM MY DIARY

1894—1896

BY ABBOT GASQUET.

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Leaves from my Diary



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LEAVES FROM MY DIARY

1894—1896

BY THE

Right Rev. Abbot GASQUET, O.S.B.

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TO THE READER.

THE following extracts from my diaries for the period 1894 to 1896 are printed at the request of several friends, in consequence of the publication of *A Roman Diary and other Documents relating to the Papal Inquiry into English Ordinations*, by the Rev. T. A. Lacey. The entries in my diaries were obviously written without the least idea of their ever being made public, and since 1896 they have been locked away and not even read since they were written, until, in view of Mr. Lacey's Diary, I brought them out and examined them.

A quotation from a letter written to a French Professor in Paris on February 2nd, 1896, will show my personal attitude to the question of Anglican Orders: "My connection with the question of Anglican Ordinations was certainly not of my own seeking. In fact, on this burning controversy I have kept silence, and indeed have expressly passed it over when dealing with the Anglican Liturgy in conjunction with my friend, Mr. Edmund Bishop, in the volume *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*. I did so because I thought the matter one

altogether too delicate to be stirred up without grave reason, and that very probably more harm than good would result from mooting the question without grave necessity. It has, however, now been mooted, not, I am glad to say, by anything we Catholics have done; and if I am engaged in it, you may be sure that it is only by command of the Supreme authority."

The examination initiated by the friends of the Anglicans in Rome might have resulted in one of four conclusions. It might have shown that, according to Catholic principles, the Orders of the Church of England must be accepted as valid by the Church; or it might have resulted in considering them as doubtful only, which would have entailed, of course, a change in the traditional mode of regarding them; or, the examination might have confirmed the practice of looking on them as not having the requisite qualities for validity in the sense of the Catholic Church; or, fourthly, it might have been thought best to abstain from giving any decision at all.

From the first, in my opinion, there could be no other possible result from a thorough examination than to confirm the constant practice of the Church. Still, I was open to conviction, and if any *gravissima ratio* could have been

shown in the course of discussion to change that practice of the Church during three centuries, all were prepared to accept that solution.

When, as the outcome of the Roman investigation, Pope Leo XIII, on September 13th, 1896, declared that the Church must continue to hold the Anglican Orders to be invalid, many protests were uttered by English Churchmen against his decision. The cry went forth that the Pope had outraged every good feeling by denying to others what he claimed for himself—Apostolic succession of Orders. From time to time since, this complaint of wounded sensibilities has been uttered by many. In one of the debates in the English House of Lords upon the Royal Declaration, which was admittedly offensive to Catholics, the Bishop of Bristol, Dr. Browne, defended the retention of the blasphemies of the King's Oath on the ground that the Pope had declared the Orders of the English Church null and void.

With every allowance for the feelings of those among the clergy of the Established Church who, holding advanced doctrines on the Eucharist, regard themselves as being "sacrificing-priests" quite as really as ourselves, it is somewhat hard to see what ground of complaint any one of them has with the Papal

decision. They remain what they were before, and the whole question was essentially, so far as the Roman authorities were concerned, a domestic one. The real question before the Commission and to be determined by the Pope was this and no other: Was the Catholic Church to regard the English bishops and priests of the Established Church as bishops and priests in the same way and in the same sense as those who have been ordained according to the rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Catholic Pontifical? Surely the living authority of the Roman Church had a right—and when the question had been formally raised, a duty—to determine the answer, without being considered either offensive or aggressive. Certainly no such motive was thought of in the discussions of the Commission, and I fancy that the notes from my Diaries here printed will show the single-minded purpose with which we approached the consideration of a question which had been forced upon us by outsiders.

Leaves from my Diary.

1894.

December 5th.—To-day two matters of curious significance were brought to my notice. In a letter received from a friend—a layman—in Rome, the writer speaks of reports current in the Eternal City of an approach which had been made to the Pope by certain Anglicans through some French friends with a view of interesting him in a scheme for the reunion of England with Rome. The rumours were vague, but it was said that the Pope was greatly moved by what he was told as to the prospects of reunion, and had made certain promises of action, the nature of which was unknown generally, and was evidently kept, or intended to be kept, a profound secret.

The second matter somewhat explained the first. Some letters and papers were placed in my hands in the evening of this day (5th Dec., 1894), from which I learned

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the following : the Abbé Portal, a French Lazarist, who, under the name of Dalbus, had written a pamphlet on "English Ordinations," had been three weeks in England in consultation with certain prominent Anglicans. It was said that he had come to the conclusion that to bring about a union, or discussion leading to a union, of the Anglican with the Roman Church, "les ordres offraient un excellent terrain." From England the Abbé went to Rome and, interesting Cardinal Rampolla in his scheme, was received by the Pope on the 12th of September (1894). After having told the Holy Father what he had seen of the Anglicans in England and what he believed to be the actual religious state of the English Church, and the disposition of its members in regard to reunion, the Pope asked him if he himself could do anything to promote the union of the Churches. To this Portal replied by suggesting that the Pope should write a letter on the subject to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. This at the time was agreed to ; but two days later the Abbé was informed that it was, on reflection, considered better to wait for a time before such a letter was written.

Portal says that at the time of his interview he saw his pamphlet, *Les Ordinations Anglicanes*, on the Pope's table, and he desired his Anglican friends to believe that there had never been "une telle démarche de la part de Rome." The Abbé Duchesne, too, had been chosen, he says, to write his views upon the question of the validity of the English Orders, and this manifests on the part of the Roman authorities "un si grand désir d'envisager les choses sous le point de vue le plus favorable pour cette église."

December 7th (1894).—I had an interview with Cardinal Vaughan this morning, in the course of which I told him what I had heard from Rome, and also what I understood from the papers shown me in England was going on in regard to reunion, and of the desire of our Anglican friends to reopen the question of their Orders. The Cardinal had heard nothing whatever on either point, and expressed his disbelief in what I had told him, as he was sure he must have had some indication of so important a matter as the question of Anglican Orders being raised in Rome. He deprecated starting such a question at this time, but added that, were it

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raised, he would do his best to insist upon its being sifted to the bottom and a formal decision given either one way or another.

December 6th.—I wrote to my friend in Rome to say that I had evidence that what he had told me about the secret “intrigues” of certain friends of the Anglicans with the Curia had some foundation, but that having spoken to Cardinal Vaughan, I found that he had heard nothing whatsoever about the matter, and did not believe there could be any real truth in it.

December 18th.—To-day I received a letter from Rome conveying to me the Pope’s commands to proceed to Rome as early as possible in the New Year on matters of importance.

December 19th.—I saw the Cardinal to-day and told him that I was told to go to Rome. He said he was glad, but that it was not his doing in any way. He added that he had made inquiries about what I had told him as to what was supposed to be going on in Rome, and that he believed there had been an endeavour on the part of certain Frenchmen to urge the re-opening of the question of Orders by the Roman authorities on behalf of Anglicans. His information,

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however, was vague ; but he intended starting for Rome himself immediately after Christmas, and would there be in a position to find out what was going on.

1895.

Thursday, 31st January, 1895.—I arrived in Rome this morning (31st January), at about 8 o'clock. As soon as possible I proceeded to the English College to report my arrival to the Cardinal as I had promised to do. After some difficulty with the domestics who declared that His Eminence would receive "ni vescovo ni cardinale," I saw Mgr. Dunn, who took me straightway to the Cardinal's room, where he received me with expressions of great pleasure that I had at last arrived. He said the situation in Rome in regard to the question of the re-union of the Anglican Church with Rome, was certainly interesting, and what had been believed in the Eternal City as to the desire of Anglicans generally to make their submission to the Church almost incomprehensible. He then proceeded to give me a long account of an interview he had had with the Pope on arriving, of which the following are the principal points :

On his reaching Rome, the Saturday week

before (January 19th, 1895), he was sent for immediately by the Pope. Directly he entered the Pope's room, the Holy Father began at once about his great desire to effect the "re-union of England" with the Holy See. He had been anxiously awaiting his (that is the Cardinal's) arrival to carry out the purpose he had conceived of addressing a personal letter of invitation to the Anglican Archbishops. He told me, said the Cardinal, that "you Catholics of England are quite mistaken in the real attitude of those who are outside the Church in England towards re-union. They are really just on the point of coming in, but are being continually repelled by the hostility of Catholics, and I am told, especially," he said, "that the harshness of Londoners keeps them back, whereas it only requires some paternal, kind 'Come, come now, etc., etc., take courage, etc., etc.,' to bring them back *en masse* to the fold of the true Church."

With regard especially to the question of Anglican Orders, the Pope went on to say: If indeed they really seemed to be doubtful, for his part, he was disposed to grant that they (the Anglicans who submitted to the authority of the Church), should be allowed

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to receive Ordination *sub conditione*, as in the case of a doubtful baptism.

The Cardinal assured me that the Pope spoke for some twenty minutes in this strain. He ended by saying that from what he had been told, it was his belief that some little concession would bring the majority of Englishmen into communion with the Roman Church. In all this the Cardinal said the Holy Father did not seem to have any idea of the difference between Ritualists and others, or indeed any real knowledge of the actual state of religious feeling in England. At the end of a very long speech the Holy Father said:—"And now I want you to help me in this." Cardinal Vaughan, who all this time had said nothing, immediately replied: "If what your Holiness believes as to the likelihood of the English people coming over *en masse*, or even in great numbers, had any foundation in fact, it would be only right and proper to see whether by any lawful concession, this very desirable end could be helped forward. But your Holiness has evidently been entirely misinformed as to the real attitude of the English people to the Roman Church. The vast majority of Englishmen are without

question thoroughly Protestant in every sense. A small and energetic minority, it is true, against the protests of the majority, now call themselves Catholics and have adopted many of the practices and language of the Catholic Church. But even these are unanimous in rejecting what we hold to be the foundation of the Catholic religion, the authority of the Church and of the Supreme Pontiff."

Then the Pope held up his hands in surprise and exclaimed "*Ma questa è una questione di dottrina!*" The Cardinal then said that he had himself recently put this question to two representatives of the highest school of Anglican thought, and that they both had declared to him that they did not believe that there was any great movement towards the Church, as we understand it, in contemplation. "With regard to your Holiness's intention of sending a letter to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York," the Cardinal continued, "this project has been known for some time in England and much discussed. I know for a fact that drafts of such a letter have been suggested and sent round to various people to know whether a letter of such and such a kind

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would meet with *their* approval if written. And, moreover, the Archbishop of Canterbury has been approached and asked to receive your Holiness's communication at least with civility." On hearing this the Pope appeared to be greatly astonished and said that this was entirely new to him and that he had given no authority to anyone to do this.

The Cardinal then went on to say that this was not all. Six months ago a French priest had come to England and had stayed for some considerable time in Anglican circles. He had visited the Cowley Fathers, Anglican convents, and, he believed, Anglican Bishops, allowing it to be understood that he came with the knowledge and in an unofficial way on behalf of Rome. The Pope thereupon declared that he had never given anyone such authority or even thought of such a thing. The Cardinal, however, declared that this was the view which was taken of his mission in England by Anglicans, and colour was to a certain extent given to it by the fact that the said French priest studiously avoided paying even the visit of courtesy due to English ecclesiastical authority, and indeed kept out of the way of Catholics altogether.

Further, that he (Cardinal Vaughan) had it on the authority of a Catholic priest, who had himself seen it in Abbé Portal's own writing, that he had been received at the Vatican by the Holy Father, who had expressed to him his personal desire to consent to anything to bring back England to the Church, and that the Abbé Portal had recommended the Pope to take the extraordinary course of writing to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. The Pope appeared much disturbed about the whole matter having been known and discussed in England.

Cardinal Vaughan then spoke of what the Pope had said in regard to Anglican Orders. He said that he did not quite understand the ground of the Pope's desire to change the existing practice of regarding them as absolutely invalid. He could quite realise that, if any new light of importance had been thrown on the question, it might be necessary that it should be thoroughly examined and settled once for all according to the evidence. But if nothing new were known to have come to light, in his opinion it would be much better to leave matters as they were. He strongly urged upon the Pope the need

of great caution when the only apparent ground for desiring to change the practice which the Church had maintained for centuries, was to give pleasure to a section of the English Church, which had no intention whatever of submitting to the Church's authority, but desired to be considered in all other things Catholic. It was no doubt painful to those who claimed to be priests, in the Catholic sense, to know that the Church had persistently refused to recognise their claim, just as did a great number of those who were equally members of the same Anglican Church. The effect of any change in the way of dealing with Anglican Ordinations, except as the result of evidence and examination, would be to afford ground for a declaration that Rome had been wrong in the matter for three hundred years, and that the next step taken by the authorities would be to declare in favour of the validity of English Orders. Moreover, apart from any question of expediency, he, the Cardinal, could not see what was to be gained by raising the question.

To this the Pope replied that the whole matter was in the hands of the "Congregation of the Holy Office," and that nothing

was likely to be done without full consideration. He then, at the end of the interview, told the Cardinal that he had sent for "Padre Gasquet," which his Eminence knew, and desired that he might be informed when I arrived in Rome. This was practically all the interview ; but the Cardinal told me that the day after his visit to the Vatican the Pope said to an Italian Bishop that he had been misled into thinking that any large section of the Anglican Church were likely to make their submission *en masse*, and that Cardinal Vaughan had assured him that there was no truth in the statements as to this which had been made to him.

Friday, February 1st. — Saw Cardinal Vaughan for a few minutes at the English College this morning. He had had a talk with Cardinal Mazzella the evening before, and found that, three months previously, Cardinal Mazzella had been spoken to by the Holy Father as to the question of Anglican Orders. He, the Cardinal, had urged the Pope to take no step without consultation ; and that if any change in the practice dealing with the Orders was to be made, this should be as the result of a serious examination into the question. He urged that someone should

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be sent for from England who could give advice in this matter, and he was glad to hear later that this suggestion had been acted upon.

In the afternoon I went, at Cardinal Vaughan's suggestion, to call upon Fr. Brandi of the *Civiltà*. In the course of conversation, Fr. Brandi told me that he had written two or three articles on the Anglican Ordination question, and that they were already set up in type, when he was ordered to hold them over so as not to complicate matters by seeming to anticipate what authority might do. The articles had been written in view of the pamphlet of M. Dalbus (Abbé Portal) on *Les Ordinations Anglicanes* and the review of it by M. Duchesne in the *Révue Critique*. Father Brandi also said that copies of Portal's pamphlet had been distributed very widely in ecclesiastical circles in Rome : so widely, indeed, that many were induced to think this had been done on the part of the Anglicans.

Wednesday, February 6th.—To-day I was charged by the Vatican authorities to draw up a *mémoire* as to the religious state of England at the present time, so far as the prospect of the union of Anglicans with

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Rome was concerned, and to give my opinion about the validity of Anglican Orders, in view of the possible need of appointing a Commission to go into the question.

Friday, February 8th.—To-day from two different sources I have heard rumours of the treatment of Anglicans as Catholics by French priests in Rome. This was in the matter of the Sacraments, Confession and Holy Communion. An Archbishop told me that he had excommunicated a French priest, who had boasted that he had given absolution and Holy Communion to an Anglican lady. This priest defended himself on the grounds that the Anglicans were only accidentally out of communion with Rome. Whether these stories are true or not—probably, I think, *not*—they show the curious, if not dangerous, situation that exists, and a total ignorance of the real state of things in England among some people here.

In the evening I saw Cardinal Mazzella and had about an hour's talk with him. I asked him if he could tell me what the present intention of the Pope was as to instituting an examination in regard to the question of Anglican Orders. He replied that at one time His Holiness had quite made up his

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mind to appoint a Commission of Cardinals to consider whether any change in the traditional attitude of the Church to these Orders was desirable ; that he had asked him (Cardinal Mazzella) and, to his knowledge, other Cardinals to form part of the Commission. Cardinal Mazzella urged caution before the subject was opened at all, and said that in his opinion the question should not be raised, but if it were raised, it must undoubtedly be settled on its merits. " My own impression," added the Cardinal, " is that the Pope would now drop the idea of a Commission unless it is forced on him by others who were interested in the matter."

Tuesday, February 12th.—This afternoon I went to the English College and was fortunate to find Cardinal Vaughan. Last evening I had heard on the best possible authority that a certain Monsignore living in Rome had sent Dalbus' pamphlet to the Holy Office, on the ground that it was doing a lot of harm in Rome by its wide circulation. This appears to me to be a most unfortunate and deplorable step, and I gave my reasons for thinking so to the Cardinal. He quite agreed ; indeed, it is obvious how very harmful such a thing as

the condemnation at this time of the pamphlet *Les Ordinations Anglicanes* would be before the English public, which would probably credit the Cardinal himself with trying to avoid discussion. He said he would at once move "heaven and earth" to prevent any notice being taken of the denunciation.

I told the Cardinal also that I had been directed to prepare a *mémoire* for the Pope ; but that I felt disinclined to write anything on the Orders question until I had access to all documents on the subject in the archives of the Holy Office. He has promised to try and get me a special Brief from the Pope, allowing me free access to the archives of the Holy Office, which has successfully resisted all efforts to penetrate into its secrets.

Friday, February 15th.—After the "Ave Maria" I went to call on Cardinal Rampolla, having been requested to do so yesterday by a message brought by Fr. Benedict Mackey. The Cardinal was very pleasant, but did not talk much about the matters that were of special interest to me. One thing he did say which may have importance, namely : that the Pope was about to write a letter to the English bishops on the question of Unity. This information I was to keep to myself,

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except that I might communicate it to Cardinal Vaughan.

Sunday, February 17th.—Having failed yesterday and again this morning to find Cardinal Vaughan at the English College, I wrote to tell him about the proposed papal letter.

Monday, February 18th.—My note of yesterday brought the Cardinal round early in the afternoon. He said my letter was the first intimation which he had had that the Pope intended taking this course in regard to the Anglican business, and we had a long talk about it.

Tuesday, February 19th.—This morning whilst working in the Vatican archives, which I have done ever since I have been in Rome, I found a Brief of Paul IV (30th October, 1555), explaining the meaning of the words in a previous Bull, “recte et rite consecrati”—a very important document. I asked Mgr. Wenzel, the archivist, about it, and he told me that, whilst making some researches for (I think) Cardinal Galimberti, he had lighted upon it, but did not know its precise meaning.

Wednesday, February 20th.—To-day in the Regesta of Pope Paul IV. I found the

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Bull, *Praeclara Charissimi*, referred to in the Brief I found yesterday. It is of the highest importance in regard to the Orders question.

Friday, February 22nd. — Cardinal Vaughan appeared suddenly at 9 o'clock in the morning bringing the Pope's document giving me leave to examine the papers in the Holy Office.

Wednesday, February 27th. — I wrote to-day to Cardinal Rampolla to make a suggestion about the letter he had told me the Holy Father was going to write to the English bishops. I said that on consideration I thought it would be better received in England if it were addressed to the English people, or, if not that, to the English people through Cardinal Vaughan.

Thursday, February 28th. — I called to-day at the Holy Office and saw Mgr. Salua. He told me that the permission I had to examine the papers as to the English Ordinations was most unusual, that he would have to make arrangements with the archivist, and that possibly about next Wednesday I should find everything ready.

Monday, March 4th. — Mgr. Dunn called on behalf of the Cardinal to ask me to preach

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on St. Gregory's Feast at his church on the Coelian. He said that the evening before Cardinal Vaughan had dined with Cardinal Rampolla at the Vatican, who had told him that the Pope had now thought it better to address the letter he hoped to send out soon, to the Cardinal himself.

Tuesday, March 12th.—I hear that Lord Halifax is to arrive to-day.

Wednesday, March 13th.—Lord Halifax called when both I and my friend, Mr. Edmund Bishop, who is my constant companion during all this period, were out. He left a card with a message that he would call the next day.

Thursday, March 14th.—I had a very pleasant walk and long talk with Lord Halifax. It was impossible to steer quite clear of the question, and so gradually we got on to it. It is obvious that Lord Halifax has been encouraged to raise the question of English Orders, not that he wants it discussed, examined thoroughly and determined, but that he hopes the Pope, "as an act of wisdom and kindness," may change the traditional view as to invalidity, and allow those who are ordained according to the Anglican Ordinal, and who pass to Rome, to be

ordained *sub conditione*. He argued strongly that this act of kindness would make for what all had at heart—reunion.

I begged him earnestly to pause before trying to raise the thorny question of Anglican Orders. I felt sure that there was a real danger, because I could not conceive it possible that the practice of Rome on so important a matter could be changed without due consideration and examination. If the matter were raised, I felt sure, I said, that the result would be the production of such evidence as would infallibly bring about condemnation of Anglican Orders, and, I added, I would far rather leave matters where they were.

Friday, March 15th.—Lord Halifax and Mr. Birkbeck called when I was out and had a long talk with Mr. Bishop. They left for me a work in Latin on the question of Anglican Ordinations—*De Hierarchia Anglicana*—by Messrs. Denny and Lacey, which has just been published. I spent the evening in examining the book, and it must clearly be carefully studied and considered. I fear that this publication will again start the question of a Commission to examine into the matter, which Cardinal Mazzella told me the other day had been abandoned. Indeed, from the

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preface of the volume, contributed by the Bishop of Salisbury, it is obviously intended to claim the consideration of the Roman authorities. I copy here one passage from this preface :

“Visum est ergo nonnullis inter nos (quibus-cum amicos antehac ignotos, praesertim in Gallia, in hoc consentire cum gaudio videmus) congruum jam adesse tempus ut veritatem de Ordinationibus Anglicanis fratribus nostris, praecipue ecclesiae Latinae, a nobis usque ex saeculo decimo sexto separatis, denuo proponamus.”

This in English would be :

“It has therefore appeared to some of us (and as agreeing with us in this, we gladly recognise certain friends, especially in France, hitherto unknown) that the proper time has come to submit (proponamus) once more the truth about Anglican Ordinations to our brethren, especially to those of the Latin Church, who since the 16th century have been separated from us.”

If this book is circulated much in Rome—as it is intended to be—it will lead to a full examination of the question, I expect.

Sunday, March 17th.—I dined at the Irish College. Cardinal Vaughan was there and

told me he had had an interview with the Pope the day before. Amongst other matters, the Holy Father referred to the Anglican Orders question, saying that he had satisfied himself that there would be grave difficulties in the way of any change in the practice of the Church as regards re-ordination. He further said that he had had the best authorities consulted, and that there (pointing to his table) he had the opinions of men qualified to judge ; from these, he added, it was clear that without a full examination, no change in the present attitude of the Church would be possible.

Sunday, March 24th.—I dined at the English College with Cardinal Vaughan. Amongst the guests was Lord Halifax, who, after dinner, came and talked to me. He was very earnest about reunion, and said that he thought the first step would be taken if only the Pope would write his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. I told him that, in my opinion, such a thing would be absurd, as neither the Archbishop, nor, for that matter, any other Anglicans that I had come across, had shown any desire to make their submission to the Holy See. Lord Halifax then spoke of “ Ordinations,” and I told him

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that I had looked at the book, *De Hierarchy Anglicana*, which he had left for me, and that it appeared to my mind, from the Bishop of Salisbury's preface, that it actually invited the Roman authorities to hold an examination of the whole question. He deprecated the idea of an examination, and, as far as I could make out, he thought that the volume showed a *prima facie* case for a change in the way the Church of Rome dealt with Orders received in the Anglican Church. That is : that there should be *not* re-ordination, but ordination *sub conditione*.

Saturday, March 30th.—Lord Halifax called in the early afternoon with the Abbé Portal, alias Dalbus, who was obviously and almost absurdly nervous. Lord Halifax left almost immediately, and, as I had to go out, the Abbé remained to talk with Mr. Bishop. It appears that M. Portal has been here for about a week with Lord Halifax, and is known in the hotel and elsewhere as "il cappellano di Milord." The Abbé told Mr. Bishop that the *Universe* had declared that Cardinal Vaughan and the English Bishops had urged the Holy Office to condemn him and Duchesne for their attitude to the English Orders. Edmund Bishop assured him that

this was absolutely untrue, and that, to his certain knowledge, it was Cardinal Vaughan who had saved them, by his prompt intervention, directly he had heard that they had been delated to the Holy Office.

I came back before M. Portal left this afternoon, and he remained on a short time afterwards. He told us that he believed Duchesne was going to devote himself to "travailler pour l'union." In M. Portal's opinion, the whole question of the Ordinations in the Anglican Church was a theological one, and that the only historical facts of interest and importance were the Consecrations of Barlow and of Parker. He was much concerned when I said that I did not think either of these facts was of much importance. He was painfully on his guard ; and of course, as we know, he has fought shy of Catholics ever since he has taken up the Anglican case. I asked him what he thought would be the end of the agitation he had stirred up on the question of Anglican Orders, and he replied that his hopes were that there would be a Commission or conference set on foot, in which both sides would be represented, and that such men as the Bishop of Salisbury and the Bishop of Peterborough should be mem-

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bers. I told him such a meeting would be interesting and perhaps important, but that, in my opinion, it was a dream, and that any deliberate judgment of the Church as to what constituted Orders, in its own sense, must result from an examination made by its own theologians, etc. From our point of view, I added, the whole question is a domestic one.

Sunday, March 31st.—This afternoon I went to see Cardinal Vaughan in response to a message from him. I found him disturbed in mind about this unfortunate Anglican Orders question. He had been informed that there was now under consideration the formation of a secret Commission to consider the question. On this Commission there was to be no Cardinal at all, and it was to report directly to the Pope. The Roman Cardinal who had originally told him about this, had expressed great anxiety, and had said that at first it had been intended to put the matter into the hands of the officials of the Holy Office. But this was objected to—by whom we do not know—as they would be sure to pass their judgment against the validity. A Commission of Cardinals was then contemplated, and some Cardinals were even asked to take part in it; but it was calculated that

the result would probably be the same. It was then proposed to have this secret Commission. Cardinal Vaughan told me that he had spoken strongly to Cardinal Rampolla against such a method of procedure, and said that if any examination of the question were held, it should be made by a properly constituted Commission of experts.

Wednesday, April 3rd.—I had a long and interesting walk with Lord Halifax. We spoke, of course, on religious matters a good deal, and my impression is that his belief is not Catholic (I mean *our*) belief in very essential matters. For instance, I do not think he believes as I do about the Blessed Eucharist and the Sacrifice of the Mass, although I had previously thought he did. It was rather a revelation to me, what I understood him to say with regard to his belief in the Sacrifice. Also he gave me to understand that he regarded the early reformers, Ridley, Cranmer and Co., as actuated merely by the idea of cutting off superstitions and excrescences, and as being really animated by Catholic principles and holding Catholic doctrine.

In the afternoon Cardinal Vaughan came from his farewell audience with the Pope.

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He brought a message to me from His Holiness that he desired me to remain on in Rome, as he wanted me to do other work, and, at any rate, that I was not to go until he gave permission. Cardinal Vaughan asked the Pope whether he had settled about having any enquiry into the question of Anglican Ordinations. The Pope replied that at present he had no intention of appointing a Commission of any kind to consider the matter. That his method was to do one thing at a time, and that at present he was busy about his letter on Unity; that he wanted to see how that was received; if well, then it might encourage him to take another step. Finally, he declared that he had quite made up his mind that if any Commission were appointed it should be open and representative, and that, of course, there should be Englishmen on it.

Thursday, April 4th.—I saw Cardinal Vaughan off on his way to England this morning at 9 o'clock.

Saturday, April 6th.—I received a visit from Archbishop Walsh of Dublin, who had that morning been received by the Pope, who questioned him about the general attitude of Anglicans towards union with the

Church. His Grace quite confirmed the notion given him of late by Cardinal Vaughan and others that the idea of any general inclination towards the Church was a myth, and that the Holy Father had been in this matter entirely misled by foreigners, who were incapable of understanding the religious situation in the Anglican Church.

Sunday, April 7th. — In the morning M. "Dalbus" came to call. Mr. Edmund Bishop and I did our best to get out of him his own particular views on English religious matters ; also, we tried hard to understand the rôle he was playing and what exactly his œuvre, as it was called by a Frenchman speaking to me yesterday, really is. He acknowledged that history showed clearly that the English Reformers were quite unorthodox about the Holy Eucharist and the Sacrifice of the Mass ; but he claimed that, in some mysterious way, the general "will" to do what Christ intended covered their admittedly actual intention not to ordain sacrificing priests. The Abbé was again very nervous and just at a critical point jumped up, saying he was late, and fled. *Mem.* I don't think we shall see him again, although he promised to return and continue

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our conversation, which so much interested him.

Thursday, April 11th.—This is Maundy Thursday, and I went to the chapel in the temporary College of Sant' Anselmo in the Bocca di Leone. Lord Halifax and his friend were there, and these two carried candles before the Blessed Sacrament in the procession to the Altar of Repose, and knelt in adoration like the rest of us. I do not wonder at Italians thinking that these high Anglicans are absolutely Catholics in our sense, taking part as they do in these “popish ceremonies.”

Easter Sunday, April 14th.—I came to the Abbey at Cava for a few days yesterday. The abbot and monks were all agog, anxious to hear when they might expect to have the news of the submission of the English Church to the Holy See, which they all believe to be imminent, if it had not already taken place. I tried to undeceive them, but did not succeed, I fear.

In the afternoon I went to pay an Easter visit to the Archbishop of Salerno. He overwhelmed me with kindness, chiefly, I believe, because he thought I should be able to give him information about the return of

England to the unity of the Church. He was fully persuaded that one might at any time have in the "Giornali," the full account of the submission of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Pope. I did my best to laugh him out of his notion, but I fancy he regarded me as a "scoffer," and will continue to look in the newspapers for the happy event he was taught to expect by some French priests who recently visited him.

Tuesday, April 16th.—To-day at Amalfi, in the reading-room of the hotel, I overheard an English clergyman loudly approving the action of the Archbishop of Canterbury in making it clear that Rome would have to give up its distinctive dogmas before it could be welcomed to union with the English branch of the Christian Church.

Friday, April 19th.—I returned to Rome last Wednesday to find many rumours floating about. The interminable question of the Anglican Ordinations seems to be everywhere, and it is impossible to escape from it. It is said that the Pope had given Duchesne a medal for his essay on Anglican Orders, and the fact is represented everywhere as a papal approval of the Abbé's view of their validity. This, of course, is

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absurd, but it makes for talk, and the fashion has set in among English visitors to assume that the validity of these Orders is certain. I to-day heard a case of a lady, who had been received into the Church, being laughed at for taking the step, when there could be no doubt whatever that before long Rome would have to declare that the Anglican Church was the same as the Catholic and Roman Church, and she might have saved herself the trouble of change and a break with the past.

This evening Fr. Brandi called. He had seen the Pope, who had told him I had found in the archives a Bull and a Brief of Pope Paul IV, dealing with Anglican Ordinations, and he would be glad to see them.

I hear that Padre Semeria, the Barnabite, has written an article in praise of Dalbus' pamphlet and of the Latin work of Messrs. Denny and Lacey. A reporter of a German paper tells me that M. Dalbus is quite certain that the Pope is going to deal with the question of Orders, according to the suggestions he, M. Dalbus, has made to him. What this means I do not know.

I hear that on Wednesday last Lord

Halifax, with his wife and daughter, and Mr. Birkbeck were at the Pope's Mass. Lord Halifax asked for a ticket for the Abbé Portal. After Mass, they had a brief interview with the Holy Father, the Abbé being introduced as "il cappellano di Milord."

Saturday, April 20th.—This evening I had a message to go to the Pope. I reached the Vatican about 6 o'clock, and was received by the Holy Father immediately. The reasons for his sending for me were chiefly two. I had for weeks been waiting to get access to the papers of the Holy Office, for which I had obtained his permission. For one reason or another I had been constantly put off, and, somewhat losing patience, I had written to the Vatican to know whether the Pope wanted me to see the papers or not. The reply came in the form of an order to come to see the Pope. He had himself, on hearing my letter, sent for the papers, and had arranged for me to have a room in the Vatican in which to examine them.

The other matter he desired to ask about was his letter on Unity (*Ad Anglos*). It had been agreed that the English translation should appear on the same day as the publication in Rome, and for this purpose it had

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been settled that the date upon which both should be issued should be next Monday (April 22nd). By some mistake the *Times* printed the document to-day (Saturday, 20th), and the Holy Father had received a telegram, which he showed me, telling him of this, and wanting some explanation. He was not at all pleased, as the letter had not yet been issued to the Cardinals.

The Pope again asked me for the paper on Anglican Orders which he had ordered me to write some time back. "Why have I not had it?" he asked. I replied that I had found it impossible to write anything until I had been able to examine all the documents, of which those he had just given me were the most important, from one point of view. "But," he answered, "I have several opinions there (pointing to his table), all of which have been written without sight of these documents." "Yes," I answered, "I have no doubt. I cannot say how others can give any opinion of value without knowing the facts, but I can't." Upon which the Holy Father patted me on the head and said "Bravo! that is quite proper."

Wednesday, May 1st.—To-day I finished a brief statement of my view on the

Anglican Ordinations question, and this evening I gave it to the Holy Father. It is time for me to be returning to England, and so I took this opportunity to ask the Pope's leave to set out homeward. In giving me this permission, the Holy Father told me that I should probably be sent for next year. He had not yet quite made up his mind whether the question of Anglican Orders, which was being pressed upon him, would have to be examined at all. If it was decided to hold an examination, which at present remained doubtful, he would require me to come back and be one member of the Commission of Consultors.

Tuesday, May 7th.—I am leaving Rome to-day for England with Mr. Edmund Bishop. Our intention is to remain for a few days in Paris.

Sunday, May 12th.—I left Mr. Bishop in Paris yesterday, and came on here (St. Edmund's, Douai). I want to examine Cardinal Pole's Register, which is in the town archives. I do not expect to find any trace of the Bull of Paul IV. in this Register, as it has been examined by many people, and notably by Canon Estcourt, to whom the Bull *Praeclara* that I found in

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Rome would have been a most important document. However, it is worth looking carefully to-morrow.

Monday, May 13th.—I was early this morning at the Archives, and went through the two volumes of Pole's Register. In the afternoon I found a copy of this Bull *Prae-clara Charissimi* entered in the second volume, together with the attestation of Cardinal Pole that he had received it, dated September 22nd, 1555.

June 27th.—To-day I received a letter from Rome telling me that so far nothing had been decided as to the holding of any Commission about Anglican Ordinations. The matter was constantly being kept before the mind of the Pope, but the tendency was to encourage some sort of a change in practice, on the ground of kindness, rather than the holding of an examination. The writer tells me that Messrs. Denny and Lacey's *De Hierarchia Anglicana* is being spread about and much read, and that the Bishop of Salisbury's Preface is being quoted as a proof of a genuine submission to the judgment of the Holy See, and of a *bona-fide* desire for re-union. Several documents, which have been drawn up on the subject of

Anglican Orders, have been printed ready to form the basis of any discussion, should any such be decided on. The authorities in Rome find the greatest difficulty in understanding how people can call themselves Catholic and Apostolic, etc., without meaning exactly the same as we do, and holding the same beliefs as we do. The Pope remarked the other day to a Cardinal that this use of words was misleading, and that some years ago, to his knowledge, when a person said he was a Catholic, he meant that he was a Roman Catholic.

August 7th.—A letter from Cardinal Vaughan says that he has urged the Holy Father again not to “change the practice of the Church for three hundred years without the fullest investigation and without the co-operation of the representatives of the Catholic Church in England. I ask only for the fullest investigation before any decision is come to on so important a matter, no matter what the decision may be.”

1896.

January 6th, 1896.—A copy of a tract in French on the English Ordinations, just published, was sent to me by order of the Pope. It must be studied; but my glance through its pages has made me think that some people must constantly be working to make it certain that whatever happens there shall certainly be no decision given by any Commission that may be held, unless it can be secured that that decision is favourable to the validity. In a note, the author of the tract asserts that motives of expediency might induce the Holy See not to pronounce on the matter at all. This seems to me to show that the writer has forgotten that it is a question of reiterating a Sacrament, and that if the Holy See, after inquiry, were convinced of the validity of Anglican Orders, or of even a reasonable doubt, it would be a positive duty to declare the truth. The author cannot mean this, I fancy, and so I think he is preparing the way for there being no decision at all, in the event of the Com-

mission finding that, from the Church's point of view, Anglican Orders must be regarded as invalid.

February 2nd.—Having read this French brochure, I have to-day sent the author a few remarks upon it, according to his request, and a copy of my criticisms to the Holy Father.

February 6th.—I hear to-day from Rome that I shall probably be wanted soon, as the Pope speaks of appointing the long-talked-of Commission almost at once. Duchesne is said to have given out his determination to work so as to have the question of Anglican Ordinations settled, apart from the historical setting of facts ; and hence many, I am told, now think in Rome that a direction to hold re-ordination *sub conditione* will be the final result of such restricted enquiry. If this cannot be secured and a decision adverse to the validity is come to, it is hoped that at least the result will be a *questio dilata* with no formal decision.

February 11th.—There is some news this morning about the projected Commission. On Monday, February 2nd, the *Daily Chronicle* announced that the first session of the Commission would be held on the follow-

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ing Sunday. In response to a telegram of enquiry, I was informed from Rome that the news was a little "previous." But to-day brings news of the appointment of Mgr. Merry del Val as the Secretary of the Commission. The same letter tells me that "great efforts are being made to prepare the way for a *sub conditione* result," and that it is thought "that at least it will be possible to secure for the Anglicans that the question be declared *dilata*"—that is, shelved *sine die*.

March 13th. — A letter received from Mgr. Merry del Val, as Secretary of the Commission appointed to deal with the question of Anglican Orders, tells me that the Pope expects us—*i.e.*, Canon Moyes, Fr. David Fleming and me—in Rome by the 19th. This afternoon brought a line from Canon Moyes saying that he had heard from Cardinal Vaughan that we were to start immediately.

Monday, March 16th. — This morning Canon Moyes, Fr. David and self reached Paris on our way to Rome.

Friday, March 20th. — We arrived in Rome about midnight yesterday, and the first thing this morning we sent word to the Vatican that we had come. We had brought

out some copies of the *Expositio* on the Anglican Orders we had drawn up, and sent two, with one copy of Cranmer's works for the purpose of reference, to the Vatican. We were informed that the procedure in the examination of the Anglican Orders question about to begin would be as follows. First we were clearly to understand that *we* had not to settle or determine anything. We were consultors, only charged to discuss the various questions and to prepare the evidence, etc., for the Cardinals who would have to decide.

Cardinal Mazzella, who we understand has been relieved of all other work for the present, is to preside at the meetings to be held at the Vatican. The three members of this Commission, besides us three from England, are Monsignor Gasparri, the Abbé Duchesne and the Jesuit Professor of the Roman College, De Augustinis. The proceedings are to be private, and I understand Cardinal Mazzella is going to explain at the first session that everything is to be considered as confidential, and not to go beyond our own selves. The various "papers" or *mémoires*, or *vota*, which are printed, are to be distributed as confidential documents and

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time is to be given for study and, if necessary, reply. After as many meetings of this kind have been held as may be thought necessary, the results of the discussions with the minutes of the meetings will go together with all documents and papers on the subject to the Holy Office. Then, as I understand the proposed procedure, when these papers, etc., have been digested and considered, the question will go before the Cardinals of the Holy Office, who will all study it, and when they are ready to report, there will be a full Congregation at which the Pope himself will preside. Then, after hearing all opinions, he (the Pope), will take the matter into his own hands, and after a delay for prayer and consideration will decide the question, or, if he thinks fit, as some are strongly urging upon him, if he cannot pronounce for a change of practice to the *sub conditione* re-ordination, he will declare the question *dilata*, that is, will give no decision at all.

I hear that some English Catholics have put in a memorial to the effect that "their party is not represented" on the Commission. I suppose them to mean that Father Scannell, who is believed to be in favour of the validity of the Orders, is not a member. It certainly

would be a good thing if this can be arranged, so that the whole question may be threshed out from every point of view.

Sunday, March 22nd.—Father David, Canon Moyes, and I were asked to call upon Cardinal Mazzella, which we did at the “Ave Maria.” He received us most graciously, and immediately spoke of the business that had brought us to Rome. He said he greatly regretted that he had been given charge of this matter, but that he looked upon it as a point of obedience. We replied that to all of us in England it was a matter of great regret that this burning question of Anglican Ordinations had ever been raised at all ; but that as it had been brought forward, it seemed to us necessary that it should be thoroughly examined and a definite decision, whatever it might be, come to. He told us that he knew we English had not pressed this question forward, and that the promoters were certain Frenchmen, and that, in his opinion, it was now important that the whole question should be considered in the light of historical evidence ; the theological side must be combined with the consideration of the facts. This, he said, is the great difficulty for foreigners ; and he forth-

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with illustrated what he meant by telling us that a very able man "happened to be a few months ago in Rome, and came to tell me that he was anxious to complete certain parts of a tract he was desirous to write on this question of the English Orders, and that he knew little about the history of the question beyond what he had learned in the Roman Schools. Whereupon I impressed upon him the necessity of reading the best and most recent English works written upon the subject. 'You know English, of course?' I said. To my surprise he replied that he was quite ignorant of the language; and yet," added the Cardinal, "without a knowledge of English it seems to me that it is almost impossible to form any true judgment of this matter."

At 9 p.m. we received a letter from the Vatican, marked *urgente*, to inform us that the Pope desired to receive us in audience to-morrow at noon; and that the first conference would be held on Tuesday at 10.30 in a room prepared on the first floor of the Vatican.

Monday, March 23rd.—At noon we were received by the Holy Father, who talked at some length upon the business that had

brought us to Rome. In response to something we said as to its being unfortunate that the question had ever been raised, the Pope said that it had been forced upon him by certain Frenchmen acting for some Anglicans, and that it was necessary that it should be determined once for all, now that so much had been heard about it. His Holiness told us that he trusted we would keep our deliberations strictly to ourselves, and not allow things to get into the newspapers. We shall all be under the *Secretum Pontificium*, and this, he said, with a laugh, may not be necessary for Englishmen, who can hold their tongues, but others perhaps are more "*légers*," and would talk outside to journalists and others. At the conclusion of the interview the Pope told us he was engaged on an encyclical letter on *The Church*, and asked us to translate it for him into English.

On leaving the Vatican we met a friend, who told us he had just seen Duchesne, who had expressed his dislike of the whole matter. He said he had no wish to have anything to do with the case, and that practically all he knew he had got from the pamphlet of Dalbus.

Tuesday, March 24th.—We had to-day our first meeting in the Vatican. Cardinal

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Mazzella presided at one end of a long table with rounded ends. On the right side sat in order Mgr. Gasparri, The Abbé Duchesne and Padre De Augustinis : on the left side of the Cardinal were Canon Moyes, myself and Fr. David. Mgr. Merry del Val, as secretary, sat at a small table at the right of our bigger table. The Cardinal was in the full state dress of a Cardinal, and the scarlet silk table-cover with the silver inkstands set before each of us, made me realise that we were about to hold the first of a series of meetings of no ordinary importance.

The proceedings commenced, after prayers, with an address from Cardinal Mazzella, in which he exhorted all to speak frankly and fully on the matters that were to be discussed. He ended by asking the Secretary to read a letter addressed to him by Cardinal Rampolla, placing us all under the pontifical *secret* in regard to our meetings.

Some question was then raised as to the propriety of allowing Anglican representatives to attend our meetings and to take part in our discussions ; but Cardinal Mazzella at once pointed out that this was a matter entirely outside our functions. We were met at the invitation of the Pope to consider a

question that, however it might interest those who were not members of the Church, was entirely a domestic one—namely, the determination whether certain Orders could be so regarded as valid according to our Catholic principles. It was a domestic question, and so far as we were concerned our work was merely to sift the evidence and prepare it for further consideration and final determination. The Cardinal further pointed out that even if we could admit Anglican representatives, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to say who properly would represent the view of the English Established Church. Quite as many members of that Church disbelieved in the validity of their Orders, in our sense, as believed in them : that a great number would scout the idea that they were priests in our sense.

It was agreed that all the members of our Commission should have before them the views as to the nature of Orders and the Sacraments held by both the High and the Low Church parties. The various papers, which had been printed, were then distributed, and we adjourned till Tuesday in Easter week.

Wednesday, March 25th.—We to-day had a visit of considerable length from a member

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of the Commission to discuss the question of "the hour"—the Anglican Ordinations. He told us that he did not read English, and so had not studied the matter in any English books on the subject. He had formed his views mainly from the pamphlet of Dalbus and the Latin *De Hierarchia Anglicana* of Messrs. Denny and Lacey. He thought that if the matter was to be decided in the usual way of the Roman Congregations, a positive and even scientific decision would be difficult, and he thought that, as the result of the present enquiry, the practice of ordination *sub conditione* would be introduced.

Friday, March 27th.—We heard to-day on what is apparently good authority that Lord Halifax had communicated to the Pope, through one of the Commission, his opinion that if any decision adverse to the validity of their Orders was arrived at and published, there would be an end to reunion for ever. In this view, the Pope was informed, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Anglican bishops generally agreed. Other people, too, are already playing the "diplomatic stop" in the same sense, although really we have not begun our work yet. It is difficult to believe that after all the

fuss and trouble our work will be thrown away, and that no decision will be given, unless the decision be in favour of the Orders, or declaring them doubtful. The situation is almost comical, if it were not so serious. We certainly have done nothing to bring about this unfortunate discussion ; but holding as we do that the Orders are invalid, we are hoping to prove this to the satisfaction of those who will have ultimately to judge the question. The party who have raised the matter are apparently determined to prevent any adverse decision, should it appear that this is likely to be the final result. It reminds one of the man who would not consent to a person proposed as an arbitrator unless he would previously pledge himself to give the award in his favour.

Monday, March 30th.—I was told to-day that there could be no doubt that the plan of the French promoters of this question and of their Anglican friends is to secure the *sub conditione* result of the Commission. An Anglican friend said to-day that they had been assured by several Catholic priests that it would be impossible for the Holy See to decide that the Anglican Orders were invalid. I replied that we must wait and see. No

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one can tell, and it is always dangerous "to prophesy till you know."

Wednesday, April 1st.—We learn to-day that Cardinal Vaughan is sending out Father Scannell at the Pope's suggestion. It appears that it was represented to the Holy Father, as I have before noted, that there were some Catholic priests in England who did not take the same views on the subject of Anglican Orders which we (*i.e.*, Canon Moyes, Father David and I) held, or were supposed to hold. The Pope was given the name of Father Scannell and he ordered a letter to be written to Cardinal Vaughan to suggest that either Fr. S. or someone holding the same views, should be sent out to take part in the work of the Commission. This is a very wise move, and as the Cardinal, we suppose, will have to find the money for expenses, this should be a positive proof of his desire to get at the truth.

Friday, April 3rd.—We hear to-day that the Holy Father has nominated as a member of our Commission, together with Father Scannell, P. Giuseppe Calasanzio de Llevaneras, a Capuchin.* He is said to be

* Now Cardinal Vives y Tuto, Prefect of the Congregation of Religious.

a first rate man and is a consultor of the Holy Office. He was also quite prepared for the work of the Commission, as he had already written his opinion on the question for the Holy Father.

Saturday, April 4th.—Fr. Scannell arrived this morning, but as there was no room at San Silvestro, where we three were staying, he had to go to the English College. It has already got about Rome, in the marvellous way in which rumours circulate in the Eternal City, that Fr. S. has come out to represent the Anglican side in this discussion.*

Tuesday, April 7th.—We met at the Vatican for our second session at 10 o'clock. The two new members were present. The disposition of the room was somewhat changed. A long square table was substituted for the oblong one and Mgr. Merry del Val sat at the end opposite to Cardinal Mazzella, having Fr. Scannell on his right and Padre Llevaneras on his left. The discussion was chiefly confined to the consideration of the practice of the Church in its treatment of Anglican Orders, and the origin of the practice.

* Mr. Lacey says, *A Roman Diary*, p. 38. "Scannell frankly says he does not believe in the validity, but he is working for no decision at all."

Thursday, April 9th.—We held our third session this morning, the discussion all turning on the Bull and Brief of Paul IV.

Saturday, April 11th.—To-day we met for the fourth time.* Most of the morning was taken up with a consideration of the two decisions of 1684 and 1704.†

Monday, April 13th.—This morning was our fifth session, and it was occupied in considering the *Praxis* of the Church in

* Mr. Lacey, *Ibid.*, p. 32, writes, "Ap. 11. Called on Gasparri at 8.30 to take him a copy of the register of Ferrar's consecration, and some notes. The session of the Commission at 10 a.m. . . . afternoon. . . . Duchesne reported that our information had been very useful at the morning session, and had fully established the fact that Ferrar was consecrated according to the Pontifical." Here Mr. Lacey must have entirely misunderstood the Abbé's remarks, for nothing of the kind happened at the Commission. The question of Ferrar's consecration was indeed raised, but so far from the result being to "fully establish the fact that Ferrar was consecrated according to the Pontifical," the majority agreed that there had certainly been some changes made in the rite, and that the Catholics of England at the time, and since, had never regarded Ferrar as a Bishop. This view was strengthened by the fact that at the time of his degradation he was regarded merely as a priest, ordained according to the Pontifical, and was degraded from the priesthood only, by those who may be presumed to have known that, though he was called a Bishop by the reforming party, he had not been consecrated validly.

† Mr. Lacey (*Ibid.*, p. 135), says that "in the Commission Cardinal Mazzella refused to let the consultors go behind the Gordon decision: they were consultors of the Holy Office and were bound by all its decisions." This impression of Mr. Lacey is quite unfounded. From the very beginning it was clearly understood that we were perfectly free to adduce any arguments or bring forth any *factum novum* which might alter or modify the previous practice of the Holy See. In point of fact the whole ground-work of the Gordon decision was fully discussed and re-examined.

re-ordaining Anglican ministers from the earliest time that there was any question with regard to any one ordained according to the Anglican Ordinal. Also the evidence that in the time of Pole, the Orders which had not been bestowed according to the ancient Catholic Pontifical were disregarded as Orders.*

We were asked to give in writing our opinions whether, granting the practice of the Church, there could be shown to exist any "*gravissima ratio*" why that practice should be changed.

Wednesday, April 15th.—This morning we had a long talk with Padre de Augustinis in our room. He appears to think that we shall all agree as to the invalid nature of the

* According to Mr. Lacey (*Ibid.*, p. 35), the Abbé Duchesne reported to him the next day, April 14th, "that out of forty cases alleged by Moyes, in which Pole or those acting under his authority had refused to recognise the Edwardine Orders, he had demolished thirty-eight *and a half*. This has much impressed de Augustinis." Most of Mr. Lacey's readers will naturally conclude that this was done at the meeting of the Commission. I would point out, however, that the Abbé did not say so, and this wholesale destruction was certainly not accomplished in any session of the Commission. Possibly Duchesne was recording the result of a meeting thus recorded by Mr. Lacey (p. 33). "Ap. 12, *Low Sunday*—afternoon. Duchesne and Gasparri came by appointment and we did three hours' hard work investigating the cases alleged by Moyes as showing that Pole rejected the Edwardine Orders. Duchesne is satisfied that Pole made no distinction between the men ordained by the two rites, but Gasparri is of the contrary opinion."

Form used in the Anglican rite ; but that practically, in view of the opinions of some theologians and others who have expressed the opinions they have done, the result will be to let the Anglicans down easily by declaring the Orders doubtful, and give the *sub conditione* solution. He thought it would please everyone if we could agree to this. We told him that it was impossible to agree to anything that could not be made to square with the facts ; and that any decision given on the ground that it would be a "kind act" seemed to us unworthy of serious men charged with a serious duty. Here we are again : always and everywhere we are met with the same suggestion of a *sub conditione* conclusion. I cannot believe that in the end, as sensible beings, we shall have to take refuge in a change of practice without some reason, "as an act of kindness." Of course, if, as a result of the discussion, we are convinced that the Anglican Orders are valid, or doubtful, we must as honest men report in that sense ; and similarly, if we are convinced of their invalidity, we are bound to say so. But why this determination to work out one solution because this would give pleasure to Frenchmen and Anglicans ?

Saturday, April 18th.—The sixth session was held to-day, and lasted from 10 to 1. After the minutes or *acta* of the last meeting had been passed, the written replies to the questions proposed to us by Cardinal Mazzella at last meeting were read and handed to the Secretary.

Sunday, April 19th.—We had asked from the Holy Office some cases to show the practice of the Church as to re-ordination and ordination *sub conditione*. To-day the Assesore of the Holy Office furnishes a great number of modern cases, and from these it appears clear that if the 1st and 2nd imposition of hands has been left out, the practice is to ordain *absolute* again. If the third imposition, then the re-ordination is *sub conditione*.

Tuesday, April 21st.—The seventh session, put off from yesterday, was held this morning. The case of Barlow occupied us most of the morning;* the question of *co-*

* Mr. Lacey (*Ibid.* p. 46) relates the following in regard to this session of the Commission: "Duchesne tells how he used with great effect in the Commission an argument which I supplied a few days ago. Pole, on the receipt of the Brief *Regimini*, must have verified the consecration of all bishops promoted during the Schism, to make sure they had been consecrated in *forma ecclesiae*, in order that the ordinations they had performed might stand good. In doing this he must have either verified Barlow's consecration, or found that he was

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consecrators was also treated, and on Saturday next we are to discuss the Rite itself.

Thursday, April 23rd.—To-day we went in the morning to work in the Vatican. We examined the *dossier* of the Holy Office papers on Ordination questions from 1603 to 1698. These documents make it quite certain that the usage of *sub-conditione* ordinations and that of *absolute* re-ordinations was fully understood half a century before the Gordon case of 1704. Also that the various Oriental forms were quite as well known as they are to-day. Morinus and suchlike authors are freely quoted in the various *vota*.

Friday, April 24th.—The London *Daily Chronicle*, which came to hand this morning, reports a speech of Lord Halifax to the Church Union. This is interesting. He warns the Pope on no account to condemn Anglican Orders, and he names Duchesne, Gasparri, Scannell, and De Augustinis as being in favour of the Validity of the Orders. How can he have got to know this? We

not consecrated; and in the latter case it would certainly have been heard of. Moyes replied that there was no proof that Pole did so. ‘Then,’ said Duchesne, ‘he was a very unfaithful representative of the Pope.’” This incident, I can safely say, never took place in any session of the Commission. If it had, the obvious reply would have been to point out that Barlow was safely abroad before Pole arrived, and so could not have been examined in his own case.

who are with them could not speak so certainly as to their position, though we have been present at all the discussions.

We have heard that two Anglican clergymen, Mr. Lacey and Father Puller, a Cowley Father, had been in Rome from the beginning with a view to render any assistance necessary to the Commission. To-day we understand from a friend of theirs and our own that they have been kept *au courant* with everything that has been said and done at the confidential meetings of the Commission, as they expressed to him surprise at some of the theological statements made. Also Mr. Lacey had referred to what he considered an astoundingly false statement in our *Expositio*, which was printed for the use of the Commission, showing that it had been shown to him. They did not disguise the fact that they had seen all the private documents and discussed the whole matter with members of the Commission. So far as we are concerned, we think it a good thing that they should be able to educate some members of the Commission to their views.* It would perhaps be useful if we had per-

* Mr. Lacey (*Ibid.*, p. 35) says, April 15th: "Gasparri has seen Cardinal Rampolla, spoken about us, and obtained permission to show us anything and consult us."

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mission to communicate what is going on to Cardinal Vaughan, but our mouths are shut.

Saturday, April 25th.—To-day is our *Eighth Session*. We began at 10 and sat till 12.15.

For most of the first hour the discussion on the Barlow case was renewed.* After that, the whole of the session was devoted to question of the Form *in se*, and the arguments were not finished when we had to rise. Father David has to take his turn at the next session.†

* Mr. Lacey (Introduction, p. 21) says: "When I read my Diary with the deliberate judgment of a later day, two things strike me as remarkable. The first is the disproportionate attention paid by the Commission to unimportant points. It seems to be all about Barlow." It certainly would appear to be so in Mr. Lacey's pages, but it was not so in the Commission. All the time spent over this question by the Commission was two hours in the session of April 21st, and less than one hour in the session of April 25th. From the first, I think I may say, we had looked on even this brief discussion as needless, and at the moment as possessing a mere academic interest.

† Mr. Lacey (*Ibid.*, p. 50) says of this meeting of the Commission (Saturday, April 25th): "In the sitting of the Commission on Saturday, N. challenged A.'s statement about the Barlow documents. B. intervened, declaring that he had seen the documents. 'You say so?' said N. 'Yes.' 'I believe you,' said N., with a little emphasis.'" In a note, Mr. Lacey writes: "This petulance was quite unjustified, as the sequel shows. The documents were found, as noted below, and there was no cause for any reticence about them. I should like to expunge the story, as well as the names, but it would not be fair to suppress evidence of our own suspicious temper." This incident is grossly exaggerated. There was a slight difference of opinion on a matter of evidence, and some doubts were expressed by the Abbé Duchesne as to the existence of certain documents, but most certainly not in the

On the way home we asked ourselves, Was it possible that what we had so far heard was all that had to be said? Have these Frenchmen, acting on behalf of the Anglicans, nothing more to say than has been so far brought up and discussed at our eight meetings? Up to this point we have expected that something new would probably be sprung upon us that would throw some light upon the reasons which made them press forward this question and drag us most unwillingly into a controversy which can do no good and may possibly do much harm. The tactics of the French promoters are obvious. They are determined to work for a mere change in the practice of the Church, and secure that the Orders shall be regarded as doubtful, and re-ordination shall henceforth be *sub conditione*.

Mr. Lacey told our mutual friend that they (himself and Father Puller) had come out believing that the most they could expect from the Roman authorities was that they would be spared any decision *contra*, and that the present practice would go on; but

rude and impertinent way represented by Mr. Lacey. It is inconceivable that the Abbé Duchesne could have told him the story without adding that, as a gentleman, he immediately apologised for even seeming to doubt what had been said.

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that now they had full confidence that the practice would be changed, and the Orders would thus be acknowledged as merely doubtful.

A letter received from Cardinal Vaughan asks whether we can give him any information about the Commission. He hears a good deal of gossip from Anglican sources ; but he and the English Bishops are quite in the dark about what is going on.

Sunday, April 26th. — We have heard again to-day how all the proceedings of our Commission are being discussed between the French party and the Anglican representatives in Rome. Mr. Lacey told our friend yesterday that although the proceedings of the Commission were private, their friends had asked and obtained permission to show them all documents and to talk over the discussions with them. I hope this is so, but like the Scotchman, "I've me doots," and should like to find out, if only to get the same permission to let *our* friends know something.

In the afternoon we heard that all preparations had already been made for the matter to be taken up by the Holy Office at the point we leave it. An official of the Holy

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Office has already been named by the Pope to study all the papers and documents, including the minutes of our discussions, and to draw up a *précis* of the case. His name has not transpired; but we hear that he is already at work on the documents that have been so far placed in his hands.

Monday, April 27th.— I have asked at the Vatican, and have been informed on the highest authority that no permission has been asked and no leave granted to break the *Secretum Pontificium*.

Wednesday, April 29th. — This morning we held our *ninth session*. The discussion as to the *Form* was continued, Father David leading off as arranged.

Saturday, May 2nd.— *Our tenth session.* The morning was spent on the discussion of the Anglican Ordinal, considered *formaliter*. We understand that at the end of our meetings the Pope is going to require the return of all papers and documents which have been communicated to us, and will issue another precept of absolute secrecy about any information, etc., obtained in the sessions of the Commission.

In the *Guardian* newspaper, which came to hand to-day, there is a paragraph saying

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that information about the opinions of members of the Commission had become public property, and expressing a pleased surprise that Padre de Augustinis held that Anglican Orders were valid, both on historical and theological grounds.

Tuesday, May 5th.—To-day we have had our *eleventh session*. In the last (10th) session Cardinal Mazzella had proposed certain *quaesita* to be answered in writing. After the *responsa* to these had been read, the Cardinal made an address, summing up the discussions we had been engaged upon. He concluded by saying that the opinions we had been asked for by the Holy Father had been sufficiently made known and debated, and that he would only request us to meet once more on Thursday, to pass the *acta*.

Thursday, May 7th.—This morning we had our *twelfth* and last session. The *acta* were read, and so ended the meetings of the Anglican Orders Commission. Before the close the Secretary read a mandate *sub pracepto obedientiae* for all to keep silence on whatever had been learnt in the course of our private sessions.*

* Mr. Lacey, in recording the admonition says: "All the members have their mouths shut, and are forbidden ever again to write or publish anything on the subject of Anglican

In the afternoon we saw Father Brandi, who had already heard that the Commission was dissolved. He said that Duchesne had told someone that he was entirely satisfied with the meetings and that "if the Archbishop of Canterbury only knew how he had done battle for him, he ought to give him a gold medal."

Sunday, May 10th.—We hear to-day that the Abbé Duchesne has been urging that advantage be taken of the presence of Mr. Lacey and Father Puller in Rome to initiate some conferences in which they would be represented.

Tuesday, May 12th.—To-day I paid visits to two Cardinals. In the morning Cardinal Aloisi-Masella expressed himself very strongly on the way the French friends of the Anglicans had been allowed to force the question of Anglican Orders to an examination. They had represented to the Pope that the case had never before been properly looked into, and that new facts had been discovered, on which the Orders could be proved to be at worst doubtful. From the first, he said, he

Orders. This must be annoying for Moyes." Needless to say that this version of the admonition is an entire misapprehension. The prohibition extended only to the proceedings of the Commission, but in no way forbade the writing or publishing of anything on the subject of Anglican Orders.

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had seen that the French were working to secure a change in the practice of re-ordination.

In the evening Cardinal Ledochowski expressed much the same views. He considered that great harm had already been done by the light way in which the existing practice of the Church in so grave a matter had been impugned, and entirely without adequate reason. He deplored the fact that the question had ever been raised. He told us that a Catholic layman had written a memorandum on the business, and had sent it to him. He considered it as *un' impertinenza* for a layman to try and dictate the course of events in such a matter.

Wednesday, May 20th.—From the *Church Times*, to hand to-day, it appears that Father Puller has laid his views about Baptism and Confirmation before the Abbé Duchesne, who had, at least according to Fr. P., declared that “they were certainly according to Scripture and the early Fathers, and, he believed, according to the teaching of the Roman schools of to-day.” The views of Fr. Puller are well known, as they appeared ten years ago in a pamphlet. Roughly speaking, he holds that the Holy Ghost is

not received in Baptism, but only in Confirmation.

Friday, May, 22nd. — After the “Ave Maria” Canon Moyes and Father David went to call on Cardinal Parocchi at the Vicariate. They were kept a long time waiting and at the same time Mr. Lacey and Father Puller were awaiting their turn for an audience. It is reported that Mr. L. has been expressing himself entirely satisfied. At his *pension* he said that he had been informed on the highest authority than an *adverse* decision is now quite out of the question. From Monte Cassino, where he and Father Puller have been staying, it is reported that they expressed themselves “quite hopeful of the happy issue” in their sense.*

Wednesday, May 27th. — Father David left for home this morning. A lay friend who had been at Monte Cassino during the visit of Messrs. Lacey and Puller gave us to-day some impressions. He had seen a good deal of them, and they openly talked of their mission to Rome. Father Puller said he had been sent by the Archbishop of York, who had blessed him and his mission, and

* This appears frequently in the pages of Mr. Lacey's Diary.

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that the Bishop of Salisbury had done the same for Mr. Lacey. One of the Fathers asked them if they were quite satisfied that their case had been fully laid before the Commission ; they replied that they were completely satisfied, and even more than satisfied, with the way they had been represented. They made no secret at all of the fact that all the private documents had been shown them and of the way the proceedings of our meetings had been told them. Our friend evidently thought this had been done by authority, and was astonished to hear that this was not so, and that we had been unable to let even Cardinal Vaughan and the English Catholic Bishops have any information about the Commission.

Another friend then at Monte Cassino told these two Anglican clergyman that he could not understand what possible good any recognition of their Orders by the Pope would do them. Mr. Lacey replied that it was at present very necessary, and he instanced what had happened at a "re-union" meeting in the north of England some time last year. He said that no sooner had he risen to speak than some one at the back of the hall shouted out : " Does the Pope of

Rome recognise you as a priest?" He said that he was unable to answer that question; and the meeting was so determined that this was a vital question, that it practically refused to allow the proceedings to go on.

They also told one of the Fathers at Monte Cassino that they had been asked by the highest authority to remain on in Rome for a few weeks longer in order that they might be at hand if wanted.* They said nothing could exceed the kindness shown to them in Rome by all, and they were quite satisfied that the Pope would go as far as possible to meet their wishes.

Monday, June 1st.—We received from Cardinal Mazzella two publications of Mr. Lacey, which he was circulating among the Roman Cardinals. One is called *Supplementum De Hierarchia Anglicana*, and the other is a brochure named *De Re Anglicana*.† This last gives, in my opinion, a very twisted account of the Reformation history and even

* Mr. Lacey (*A Roman Diary*, p. 62), writes on May 8th, "Duchesne saw Cardinal Rampolla, who expressed a wish that we should stay in Rome for the present, and hold ourselves in readiness to give information to the Commission of Cardinals which is now appointed."

† Of this Mr. Lacey says (*Ibid.*, p. 66), "Portal at once (May 15th), charged me with a new pamphlet—suggested by the ignorance of Cardinal Vannutelli—a brief outline of the present state of the Church of England, with a clear explanation of parties. This is to be finished before Monday."

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more of the *Status actualis*. At the end is an appendix giving a tabular statement of the English Church, *communitates clericorum et communites Religiosarum votis adstrictarum*, etc. It is very ingenious and is bound to give a wholly false impression to those who do not know the actual state of England and the profoundly Protestant feeling of the majority of the members of the Established Church. We are instructed to write our remarks upon this pamphlet, *De Re Anglicana*, at once.

In the afternoon a friend told us that Mr. Lacey had informed him that he had distributed these works among the Cardinals. All of them, he said, had received them most cordially, and that there was only one, Cardinal Parocchi, who, though most courteous and kind, was decidedly hostile to them. They said that their instructions were to wait and see the whole matter out, and so they were going to stop on in Rome for the final decision.

Wednesday, June 3rd. — The English papers to-hand to-day contain a letter from Mr. Gladstone on the Anglican Orders question. It has caused a good deal of talk, and the general verdict, I think, is that, as usual,

Mr. Gladstone has contrived to say little or nothing in a very long letter. The object of the letter, however, is obvious, and Mr. Gladstone must have been pressed to write it by those who do not desire any decision, if it be unfavourable to their views, for it is meant clearly to deprecate any decision whatever, unless it be in favour of the Validity.* The *Times* article (Monday, June 1st) is good.

It is announced in certain of the Paris papers, and also in the *Vera Roma*, that Duchesne has been appointed a Consultor of the Holy Office. This is not very likely to be true.

Friday, June 5th.—The Holy Father today said that he desired that the case should proceed without unnecessary delay. He had heard that some people considered that it

* Some light on the origin of Mr. Gladstone's letter appears in Mr. Lacey's *Diary*, pp. 52-3: "M. Portal came with an important letter from Lord Halifax about Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone is quite willing under certain conditions—*e.g.*, if asked to do so—to write a letter either to the Pope or to anyone else, for publication at an opportune moment. A draft of a letter to the Pope, on which Lord Halifax and Mr. Gladstone were agreed (N.B. This, my impression at the time, was incorrect), was enclosed. We talked this over. M. Portal thought he must see Cardinal Rampolla." He did so, and, though the Cardinal was "keenly interested," he told him that Mr. Gladstone must not write a letter to the Pope intended for publication, but it would have a good effect if he would write such a letter to someone else—Lord Halifax, for example.

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was the function of our Commission, now at an end, to judge the case, and he desired that it should be known that all we had to do was to prepare the way for the judicial examination which is to come now. After this, the whole matter will be buried in the minds of the Cardinals of the Holy Office, and nothing more can be heard of it till the conclusion. The *Revue Anglo-Romaine* announced last week that it remained to be seen what action would be taken on this matter, and that the Pope had not yet decided whether to proceed by a process of the Holy Office or to appoint a Special Commission of Cardinals. According to our information, this has been decided a long time ago in favour of a process of the Holy Office.

Tuesday, June 9th.—We understand that, whatever be the decision, it will be given in what is known in the Holy Office as the *Feria V^a* session. At this the Pope presides in person at a meeting of all the Cardinals of the Holy Office. The procedure is so rare that it has not been used since the days of Pope Benedict XIV, and even the method of holding it is doubtful. It is considered to be the most important judicial court in the Church, and the most solemn act of the Pope.

The decision in the case of Bishop Gordon in 1704 was also the result of a *Feria V^a* session of the Holy Office.

Wednesday, June 10th.—The *Church Times* article on Gladstone's letter has given rise to much talk here. The Anglican party are asking people to believe that England has never formally been shut off from the Holy See, but misunderstandings had come up and they had drifted apart.

Sunday, June 14th.—Gossip still is the order of the day. An article in the *Roman Post*, understood to be by Croke, correspondent of the *Tablet*, evidently supports the *sub conditione* result. In conversation with one of the priests of San Silvestro this morning, he said that he was informed that the final decision had been left to the Cardinal Secretary of State, Cardinal Rampolla, and that consequently there would be no consideration given to it from any but a diplomatic point of view. He said that it was well known in Roman ecclesiastical circles that we (Moyes, David and I) had been on the wrong tack altogether, and had failed to convince people of the justice of the present practice.

Monday, June 15th.—Croke has been

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here again to-day, talking in the same sense as above. The decision is certain to be at the very least a *sub conditione* one, if not for validity of Orders. "The Pope," he said, "would as soon think of rescinding the Vatican decree of Papal Infallibility as of condemning the Anglican Orders absolutely."

Tuesday, June 16th.—To-day we hear that the Abbé Portal, Father Puller and Mr. Lacey have left Rome. The *Revue Anglo-Romaine*, in announcing their departure, says that "Portal, with two English priests engaged upon the Commission, had the pleasure of being present at the Pope's Mass."

Thursday, June 18th.—Canon Moyes and I had a farewell audience with the Pope, who thanked us for having come out to assist in the Commission, and gave us His blessing.

Saturday, June, 20th.—We had a round of visits to-day to various Cardinals, etc., to whom we presented copies of the *Risposta* we had been asked to make to the pamphlet *De Re Anglicana* of Mr. Lacey.

Monday, June 22nd.—Canon Moyes and I leave Rome to-morrow morning, and thus ends our connection with the question of Anglican Orders.

POSTSCRIPT.

Memorandum.

July 17th, 1896.—I heard to-day that Cardinal Vaughan had received a letter from Cardinal Perraud to the effect that the Pope had expressed himself very strongly on the attitude taken up by the Abbé Portal in the *Revue Anglo-Romaine*, the explaining away the Encyclical on the Church, etc. The Holy Father had directed Cardinal Perraud to write to the Archbishop of Paris to the effect that the whole attitude of the *Revue* must at once cease, or it would have to be put an end to.

The Abbé Portal has been this week at a meeting of the English Church Union at Sion College (I think). It was not a public meeting, but circulars were sent inviting various people. One lady who was present described Portal's address to me. He began by saying that he would open his heart to those who thought with him. He said there was nothing in the Encyclical on "the Church" which need suggest any fear for "re-union" which did not necessarily mean

"submission." The great obstacle to re-union was the bitterness and unreasonableness of *Roman* Catholics in England. He told them that although they were not under one and the same head they might yet have full confidence that they possessed the entire sacramental system and were true Catholics. The great obstacle to re-union was Cardinal Vaughan.

Mr. Lacey also spoke. He saw nothing in the Encyclical that might lead them to anticipate any adverse decision about their Orders. In fact, he was quite confident that the ultimate decision would be in favour of the Orders, and even were it not so, there would be no decision which any successor of Leo XIII might not reverse.

Both Lord Halifax and Mr. Lacey explained away the Encyclical in the sense of the article in the *Church Times* last week, viz., that the Unity of the Church did not mean perfect *Union*. Just as a family is *one* as a family, though its members might be very disunited.

To-day a letter from a priest at Brighton tells me that he is convinced of the perfect fairness and honesty of Cardinal Vaughan, since he has had a letter from Fr. Scannell

to the effect that not only had the Cardinal asked him to go out and represent his views, but had given him £50 to pay his expenses.

August 6th.—The following is an extract from a letter written from Llandrindod by Cardinal Vaughan: “M. Portal two years ago said in the *Times* that I had no theological knowledge, and that my view of the invalidity of Anglican Orders would not be sustained in Rome. He has been going on the same way since. The question has been taken out of my hands and those of the Hierarchy, and it is at present in those of the Pope. We are at present dogs that may not bark, and are in absolute ignorance of what is taking place.”

Thursday, September 10th. — To-day I have heard the facts about the *Feria V^a* session of the Holy Office in which the question of the Anglican Orders was considered. The meeting was held on July 16th and the Cardinals were all present, with the exception of Cardinal Rampolla. Even Cardinal Mertel, who had to be carried to the assembly, was there. The Pope presided, and after discussion all the Cardinals were unanimous in their verdict. At the end the Holy Father reserved the decision to himself.

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